1:DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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856 month. This, incidentally, may indicate the uselessness of the pressure many parents place on their children in our culture.

862 Weaning rarely, if ever, occurs before the child can walk and therefore is properly discussed in the following chapter.

CONCLUSIONS

887 Two cautions should be repeated to guard against overstandardization: First, too much of this material is unquantified; second, there is a great range of experiences. As far as possible the extent of this range has been indicated. It deserves emphasis because it would be highly erroneous to think that the culture of Atimelang unduly stereotypes individuals.

854 The Alorese infant has fairly high contact gratifications, it suffers no
86 suppression of infantile sexuality, and it is not disciplined into the early acquisition of physical and intellectual skills and controls. The chief source of frustration seems to be in feeding. However, this occurs in the period of life when ingestive gratification is probably of primary importance to the developing organism.

842 The Alorese mother has economic responsibilities that may make her
854 welcome the birth of a child less cheerfully and care for it with less solicitude than she might in another culture. And in addition, the culture understates the satisfactions of nursing for the mother. These factors that motivate against the development of a solicitous and maternalistic attitude should be balanced against the fact that the culture does not emphasize the difficulties of childbirth as a physiological process. Nor does it foster an attitude of self-sacrifice and abnegation in connection with bearing children.

854 Interestingly enough, the advantages of childbirth are phrased in terms of self-interest and the prestige accruing from one's death feasts. The father is shoved off at birth but is given opportunity to express delight in the child during infancy. However, he lavishes care on it then only if he is not engrossed in financial and ceremonial occupations, and if he is not devoting part of his time to other households. In other words, the satisfactions and intimacies of fatherhood are cut into by a series of status and prestige demands. It is definitely the less busy—that is, the less important—father who has time to be a good mother substitute.

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855 morning until about five in the afternoon without regular provision for
866 food. This does not mean that it is left entirely without food; but all it gets are the odd bits older children cede, more or less generously, when it begs or screams for them.

Again of course there are marked variations in children's experiences in this respect. There may be a solicitous older sister who can be spared from field work and who provides relatively good care, or there may be a grandmother who works less hard and frequently in the gardens. In any case, after a child has learned to walk, its disappointments with respect to feeding are increased, and simultaneously it loses the constant handling and support characteristic of the first stage of its life. That the acquisition of its first skill in the independent mastery of the outer
[159] world—namely, walking—should be associated with severe deprivation may well have marked repercussions in the realm of ego development.

862 To add to the strain of this period and to reinforce it, the weaning of the child may be hastened because another sibling is expected. Only rarely does one see a child of three or four still nursing, and when one does, it can be assumed that it is because no younger child has been born into the family. It is an exception for a mother to permit an older child to take the breast when she has a younger one to nurse. Weaning is done gradually and simply by pushing the child gently away from the breast. If the child is insistent it will perhaps be slapped. Should it still insist, it may be sent to live in the household of a kin, and "he forgets in two or three nights." It is considered desirable to have weaning completed at least a month before the next child is born. If another pregnancy does not occur, it is assumed that children gradually wean themselves. "They think of other foods and forget the breast."

842 In connection with weaning, a mother sometimes uses a mild form
845 of adult teasing, nursing a strange infant to arouse jealousy in her own growing child. For example, Padafan had almost entirely given up the breast when one day he saw his mother nursing the child of a kinswoman. He began to whimper and tried to climb up on her lap. Not until he had worked himself into a rage and had begun striking the infant, did the mother smilingly surrender the strange child and pick up Padafan to let him nurse. The adults are fully aware of infantile jealousy and they derive a mild amusement from it. Despite this, custom makes weaning as easy as possible for the child, and if it were not for its frequent association with the appearance of another sibling and for the cumulative effects of various other factors operating at this period, the weaning situation might well be considered nontraumatic. Food,

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Even though there are these numerous traumata in connection with feeding, weaning is not traumatic. But the readiness with which children suck at objects which resemble breasts is a further indication of the effects of poor maternal care. A child free of hunger tensions can expand the character of its contacts with the mother, and once she becomes a dependable object the child has a reliable buffer against the outer world. If this buffer is absent, nothing but anxiety and inhibitions can result. This shows itself chiefly as a lack of interest both in the outer world and in those ego components through which mastery of it is effected.

Two additional features must be mentioned. First, the mother does not find the feeding of the child particularly pleasurable. This is very likely to be the case when the mother herself has been through the experience that she now imposes on the child. A second point is that in many of the illnesses which the child suffers at this time, it is the father who is blamed for having broken a taboo or one of the abstinences imposed upon him during the early life of the child. In this way the mother escapes a blame which she undoubtedly feels.

The fact that mothers occasionally masturbate their children while feeding them is no commentary on their sex morality but on the fact that the masturbatic activity is used as a palliative; and it is very likely that sexual gratification thus becomes very early in life established as a means of placating the child for frustrations suffered in other directions.

With regard to training the child to walk and talk, little deliberate effort is made. From comparisons with children in our society one can safely deduce the fact that the child is subject to a continuous series of frustrations in its efforts to establish some mastery over the world. This means also that positive and enterprising attitudes toward the world are not developed, for failures foster inhibitions.

While the child is thus not encouraged to strong ego formation in early childhood, there is an extenuating circumstance in the fact that it is not subjected to discipline which it cannot understand. There is a conspicuous absence of restrictive discipline, particularly in connection with anal training. Here it may be noted that the Alorese seem to have no buttock erotic sensitivity or consciousness. This zone is seemingly devoid of significance — nor is it used in punishing children, as is the case in our society. Anal training seems to be synchronous with growth and is taught mainly by example. Hence these activities cannot contribute very much to the formation of the ego ideal.

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An older sibling, real or classificatory, or an old woman may be near and will care for a whole group of children in a desultory fashion but no one is responsible for feeding the child and no one is greatly incommoded by his crying. When the mother goes off to work, the child is left from about eight in the morning until five in the afternoon without regular provision of food. This does not mean that he is left entirely without food, but that all he gets during that time may be odd bits an older child cedes more or less willingly and generously to him when he begs for it. Again, of course, there is marked variation in children's experiences during this period. They may have a solicitous older sister who can be spared from field work and who will provide relatively good care. There may be a grandmother who works less hard and frequently in the gardens. But, in any case, after the child learns to walk, his frustrations with respect to hunger are increased, and simultaneously he loses the constant handling and support he had during the first stage of life in the carrying shawl. That the acquisition of his first skill in the independent mastery of the outer world, i.e. walking, should be associated with two severe deprivations may well have larger personality repercussions in the realm of ego development than there is space to consider in this paper.

To add to the strain of this period and to reinforce it further, the weaning of the child may be hastened at this time because another sibling is expected. Rarely does one see a child of three or four still nursing. Although weaning is done simply by pushing the child away gently or placing the breast beyond its reach, there is no doubt that difficulties accumulate at this stage of development. Anal training, walking, and talking have not yet been deliberately instituted. They are allowed to take their own course. In other words, the child has acquired few skills during the first two or three years of life. Those which he has acquired have been by means of restrictive or absorptive disciplines. It is not surprising that this is the time par excellence of temper tantrums. These continue, as might be expected, with marked individual variation up to the ages of five to eight. Adult reactions to children's tantrums are characterized by great inconsistency. One day a mother will ignore the child; the next she may be irritated and strike it; on still another occasion she may deceive it into thinking she is not deserting it, only to slip away when the child has been diverted; or on still other occasions, especially at night, the child may be threatened with the local bogy-man who, incidentally, is not a very fearsome figure. In addition then to their inconsistency, all active disciplines are of the restrictive type. I have never seen a mother promise a child a reward for being good and then keep her promise.

A clear example of the needs of early childhood and the uncertainties of the persons on whom the child depends for its gratifications is found in a series of statements contained in Tilapada's autobiography. She tells of caring for a younger sister called Maliemai.

> On the way [to the fields] Maliemai cried a lot, so I put her down and slapped her. Then I talked nicely to her and we went on when she was quiet. . . . When Maliemai was a little older, she would cry to go to the fields with me. If I were not angry with her, I would take her along with me to dig sweet potatoes. I would give her the big ones and keep the small ones. She was always crying. She cried to be fed; she cried to go places. I hit her on the head with my knuckles and then I would feed her. She cried because she was hungry.